donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

241
782 The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

[756]
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754 The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man. 792 434

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea. 792 434 434 443

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable. [437]

### TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products. 792 434 [651]

### MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest. 792 434 426

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

[p.49(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.[71]

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining 17 : 3*b*).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mu Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

[71] Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.